1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, *bleeding and sweating* are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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of this pompous title. They are a set of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe, as I have already said, to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits.

These men are physicians, like the others of whom I have spoken, and like them are acquainted with the properties and virtues of plants, barks, roots, and other remedies. They differ from them only by their pretensions to a superior knowledge, and by the impudence with which they impose upon the credulous. I am sorry that truth obliges me to confess, that in their profession they rank above the honest practitioners. They pretend that there are disorders which cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, and to the treatment of which the talents of common physicians are inadequate. They say that when a complaint has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures must be taken to defeat the designs of the person who bewitched the unfortunate patient. This can only be done by removing or destroying the deleterious or deadening substance which has been conveyed into them, or, if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region from whence he may never return.

When the juggler has succeeded in persuading his patient that his disorder is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavour to convince him of the necessity of making him *very strong*,

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CHAPTER XXXII.

SUPERSTITION.

GREAT and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, careless of dangers, patient of hunger, thirst and cold, and fond of displaying the native energy of his character even in the midst of tortures, at the very thought of which our own puny nature revolts and shudders; this Lord of the Creation, whose life is spent in a state of constant warfare against the wild beasts of the forest and the savages of the wilderness, who proud of his independent existence, strikes his breast with exultation and exclaims *"I am a man!"*—the American Indian has one weak side, which sinks him down to the level of the most fearful and timid being, a childish apprehension of an occult and unknown power, which, unless he can summon sufficient fortitude to conquer it, changes at once the hero into a coward. It is incredible to what a degree the Indian's superstitious belief in witchcraft operates upon their minds; the moment that their imagination is struck with the idea that they are bewitched, they are no longer themselves; their fancy is constantly at work in creating the most horrid and distressing images. They see themselves falling a sacrifice to the wicked arts of a vile unknown hand, of one who would not have dared to face them in fair combat; dying a miserable ignominious death; a death, to which they would a thousand times prefer the stake with all its horrors. No tale, no tradition, no memorial of their cou-

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rage or heroic fortitude will go down with it to posterity; it will be thought that they were not deserving of a better fate. And, (O! dreadful thought to an Indian mind!) that death is to remain for ever unrevenged;—their friends, their relations, the men of their own tribe, will seek the murderer in vain; they will seek him, while, perhaps, he is in the midst of them, unnoticed and unknown, smiling at their impotent rage, and calmly selecting some new victim to his infernal art.

Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, the Indians, as may well be supposed, have not a very definite idea. All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," through the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.

Such are their ideas and the melancholy effects of the dread they feel of that supernatural power which they vainly fancy to exist among them. That they can destroy one another by means of poisonous roots and plants, is certainly true, but in this there is no witchcraft. This prejudice that they labour under can be ascribed to no other cause than their excessive ignorance and credulity. I was once acquainted with a white man, a shrewd and correct observer, who had lived long among the Indians, and being himself related to an Indian family, had the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information on this subject. He told me that he had found the means of getting into the confidence of one of their most noted sorcerers, who had frankly confessed to him, that his secret consisted in ex-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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754 citing fear and suspicion, and creating in the multitude a strong belief in his magical powers, "For," said he, "such is the credulity of many, that if I only pick a little "wool from my blanket, and roll it between my fingers "into a small round ball, not larger than a bean, I am "by that alone believed to be deeply skilled in the magic "art, and it is immediately supposed that I am prepar- "ing the deadly substance with which I mean to strike "some person or other, although I hardly know myself "at the time what my fingers are doing; and if, at that "moment, I happen to cast my eyes on a particular man, "or even throw a side glance at him, it is enough to "make him consider himself as the intended victim; he "is from that instant effectually *struck*, and if he is not "possessed of great fortitude, so as to be able to repel "the thought, and divert his mind from it, or to persuade "himself that it is nothing but the work of a disturbed "imagination, he will sink under the terror thus created, "and at last perish a victim, not indeed, to witchcraft, "but to his own credulity and folly."

But men of such strong minds are not often to be found; so deeply rooted is the belief of the Indians in those fancied supernatural powers. It is vain to endeavour to convince them by argument that they are entirely founded in delusion and have no real existence. The attempt has been frequently made by sensible white men, but always without success. The following anecdote will shew how little hope there is of ever bringing them to a more rational way of thinking.

Sometime about the year 1776, a Quaker trader of the name of John Anderson, who among the Indians was called *the honest Quaker trader*, after vainly endeavouring to convince those people by argument that there was no such thing as witchcraft, took the bold, and I might say the rash, resolution to put their sorcerers to the test, and defy the utmost exertions of their pretended supernatural powers. He desired that two of those magicians

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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might be brought successively before him on different days, who should be at liberty to try their art on his person, and do him all the harm that they could by magical means, in the presence of the chiefs and principal men of the village. The Indians tried at first to dissuade him from so dangerous an experiment; but he persisted, and at last they acceded to his demand; a conjurer was brought to him, who professed himself fully competent to the task for which he was called, but he could not be persuaded to make the attempt. He declared that Anderson was so good and so honest a man, so much his friend and the friend of all the Indians, that he could not think of doing him an injury. He never practised his art but on bad men and on those who had injured him, the great Mannitto forbid that he should use it for such a wicked purpose as that for which he was now called upon.

The Indians found this excuse perfectly good, and retired more convinced than ever of the abilities of their conjurer, whom they now revered for his conscientious scruples.

The one who was brought on the next day was of a different stamp. He was an arch sorcerer, whose fame was extended far and wide, and was much dreaded by the Indians, not only on account of his great powers, but of the wicked disposition of his mind. Every effort was made to dissuade Mr. Anderson from exposing himself to what was considered as certain destruction; but he stood firm to his purpose, and only stipulated that the magician should sit at the distance of about twelve feet from him, that he should not be armed with any weapon, nor carry any poison or any thing else of a known destructive nature, and that he should not even rise from his seat, nor advance towards him during the operation. All this was agreed to, the conjurer boasting that he could effect his purpose even at the distance of one hundred miles. The promised reward was brought and

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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754 placed in full view, and both parties now prepared for the experiment.

The spectators being all assembled, the sorcerer took his seat, arrayed in the most frightful manner that he could devise. Anderson stood firm and composed before him at the stipulated distance. All were silent and attentive while the wizzard began his terrible operation. He began with working with his fingers on his blanket, plucking now and then a little wool and breathing on it, then rolling it together in small rolls of the size of a bean, and went through all the antic tricks to which the the power of bewitching is generally ascribed. But all this had no effect. Anderson remained cool and composed, now and then calling to his antagonist not to be sparing of his exertions. The conjurer now began to make the most horrid gesticulations, and used all the means in his power to frighten the honest quaker, who, aware of his purpose, still remained unmoved. At last, while the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on this brave man, to observe the effects of the sorcerer's craft upon him, this terrible conjurer, finding that all his efforts were vain, found himself obliged to give up the point, and alleged for his excuse "that the Americans "eat too much salt provisions; that salt had a repulsive "effect, which made the powerful invisible substance that "he employed recoil upon him; that the Indians, who "eat but little salt, had often felt the effects of this sub-"stance, but that the great quantity of it which the "white men used effectually protected them against it."

The imposition in this instance was perfectly clear and visible, and nothing was so easy as to see through this sorcerer's miserable pretence, and be convinced that his boasted art was entirely a deception; but it was not so with the Indians, who firmly believed that the salt which the Americans used was the only cause of his failure in this instance, and that if it had not been for the salted meat which Mr. Anderson fed upon, he would have

9 [errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. Am(ms)]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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fallen a victim as well as others to the incantations of this imposter.

I have received this story from the mouth of Mr. Anderson himself, who was a most respectable gentleman, and also from several credible Indians who were present at the time. After this bold and unsuccessful experiment, it is impossible to expect that the superstitious notions of the Indians on the subject of witchcraft can ever by any means be rooted out of their minds.*

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* The following extract from the Detroit Gazette, shews that this superstitious belief of the Indians in the powers of witchcraft, still continues in full force, even among those who live in the vicinity of the whites, and are in the habit of constant intercourse with them.

From the Detroit Gazette of the 17th of August, 1818.

On the evening of the 22d ult. an Indian of the Wyandot tribe was murdered by some of his relatives, near the mouth of the river Huron on lake Erie. The circumstances, in brief, are as follows:

"It appears that two Wyandots, residing at Malden, and relatives to the deceased, had been informed by Captain Johnny, an Indian living at the Huron river, and also a relative, that a Shawanee Indian had come to his death by the witchcraft of an old Indian woman and her son Mike, and that in order to avert the vengeance of the Shawanee tribe, it would be necessary to kill them—and furthermore, that the death of Walk-in-the-water, who died last June, was caused by the same old woman's witchcraft. It was determined to kill the old woman and her son—and for that purpose they crossed over on the 22d ult. and succeeded in the course of the evening in killing the latter in his cabin. The old woman was not at home. The next day, while endeavouring to persuade her to accompany them into the woods, as they said, to drink whiskey, they were discovered by Dr. William Brown and Mr. Oliver Williams, who had received that morning intimations of their intentions, and owing to the exertions of these gentlemen, the old woman's life was preserved and one of the Indians taken, who is now confined in the jail of this city—the others escaped by swiftness of foot.

"On the examination of the Indian taken, it appeared that the old woman, shortly after the death of the Shawanee, had entered his cabin, and in a voice of exultation, called upon him, saying—"Shawanee man! where are you!—You that mocked me; you thought you would live forever—you are gone and I am here—come—Why do you not come!" &c—She is said to have made use of nearly the same words in the cabin of Walk-in-the-water, shortly after his death."

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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789 Heckewelder described an occasion during a drought in 1799 in which the women of a village paid a shaman to produce a rain. The shaman constructed an enclosure about five feet square of sticks and bark and left an opening on the north side. He then murmured an incantation while facing the north, shutting the opening of the enclosure at the conclusion of the incantation. He "turned in the same manner, still muttering some words, towards the south, as if invoking some superior being, and having cut through the bark on the southwest corner, so as to make an opening of two feet, he said: 'Now we shall have rain enough!'"[80] Zeisberger described the malevolent conjurers and stated that they had 954 learned their black arts from the Nanticokes, and Speck noted that this tradition is still current among the Delawares.[81] These shamans were able to injure and destroy either individuals or entire villages. Zeisberger said:

> [They use] a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum.[82]

In another place Zeisberger described an individual who had fallen into the hands of a "wizard" and become paralyzed. The shaman who was responsible had offered to cure the victim, but refrained from doing so since the patient could not afford the treatment.[83] Heckewelder said of these conjurers:

> All they can say is that the sorcerer makes use of a "deadening substance," which he discharges and conveys to the person that he means to "*strike*," throug the air, by means of the wind or of his own breath, or throws at him in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus "*stricken*," is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror, his spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.[84]

This bit of belief has survived more or less in its original form, since at a "stomp dance" an informant (R.W.) blew or threw something at another man (J.W.) and stole his drum. J.W. suffered a stroke that evening from which he never fully recovered. His family attempted to recover the drum, thinking this would effect a cure, but they were never successful. An informant from the Anadarko band (M.B.) said that malevolent sorcerers had killed most of the children and that this was the reason for the decline of the Delawares. She also said that many of the Cherokee-Delawares were "witches" and for this reason the two groups did not maintain closer relations.

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[80] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 237.
[81] Speck, 1937, pp. 135-42.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 126.
[83] Zeisberger, 1885, p. 94.
[84] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 240.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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of which they are guilty are done in secret. That adultery, theft, lying, cheating are terrible vices they know, having learned it from their ancestors as well as from whites. Fear of disgrace keeps them from open wrong-doing for they do not wish to have a bad name. Secretly, however, they are given to all manner of vice. Some are no longer sensitive to shame. There are traces of unnatural sins among them, hardly known to any except to those such as missionaries who have learned to understand the people well. Virtue one must not seek among the savages, but the grace of God is able to accomplish wonders among them. Not all are equally bad. Some among them are sensible people and considérate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice.

I had no faith concerning sorcery attributed to them, though I have lived many years among them, thinking it all to be boasting and lying on their part. I believed the Indians were too stupid for such satanic practices, but I have been persuaded otherwise. I know for a certainty that witchcraft is common among them. Those who make great pretention to skill in the dark arts know the least about them. The adepts do not boast of their knowledge for fear of their lives. They are very careful, even under the influence of strong drink, not to draw suspicion upon themselves. There seem to be Indians who have the ability to bring about the death of any one by other than ordinary means, even in the short space of twenty-four hours. This they do without the use of poison, which, if used, might be discovered and for which an antidote might be administered. Usually two or three or more agree that a certain person shall die. While he is asleep or in the presence of others they somehow exert their evil influence upon him. The effects are various. Sometimes the victim falls to the ground immediately in convulsions, lies for a time as dead, then recovers consciousness but soon dies. Sometimes the effects are not noticeable for several days. Occasionally the unfortunate individuals are afflicted with diseases, from which there is no recovery for years. Hence, it is that when illness cannot be accounted for on natural grounds, the Indians are apt to believe themselves to have been bewitched.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Accounts of illness attributed to this cause are, however, not all to be credited.

By the Nantikoks[300] the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*, meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball.[301] Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon the white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Shawnee NM7

Warriors, and especially Captains, procure a beson thought to be capable of preserving them from arrow and ball. In the year 1774 when a war had broken out between the Shawanose and the whites, the latter had their war-beson carried about among the ranks upon a pole, in a battle they fought with the whites on the Canhawa.[201½] But the Beson bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed and the Beson fell a pray to the conqueror.

Another sort of deceivers are called by them Kimochne, "night walkers." These people get into the houses at night and steal whatever they can get. The Indians say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered. They are said to be able to go a hundred miles or more and back during a single night, proceeding through the air over hill and dale and river. This seemed to me incredible, but I have been told by various individuals that it is true. We have several converted sorcerers in the congregation.[201½]

Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort. Such boys give themselves to the practice of the dark arts, having abundance of time for investigation and practice, because in their youth they are not required to work unless they choose to do so. Such a boy is feared above others, but of these there are very few. Others have been led by dreams to study theory and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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754 practice of the black art. Most are deceivers who pretend to be able to leap over a river or from one mountain to another. Old women are sometimes accused of being witches. If a child dies suddenly some one will pretend to have seen an old woman with the child at night, who is then believed to have bewitched the little one. Some old woman or another Indian may thus, though quite innocent, be thought guilty of witchcraft and be thus considered to the end of life. Again there are witches supposed to go through the towns at night in the form of an owl or a fox. It is nothing strange that an owl or a fox should get into the town, as many of the towns are surrounded by the forest. Such witches are supposed to kill Indians, bring disease and plague into the town. The worst is said to be that when such animals are shot at they do not die, being able to close up the wound caused by the bullet.

It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered.

771 That the Indians have some sort of religion and mode of worship whereby they endeavor to please the Deity, cannot be denied. Their worship, however, is unreasoning devotion. It is remarkable that savages who have been cut off from association with other nations for no one knows how many centuries should have so much knowledge of Deity that is handed down from generation to generation.

They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors, but where the dwelling place of the Deity is they know not. They have always heard that whoever lives a virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality,

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Theories on the Causes of Disease.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—Editor.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Wi·tapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Cultures*.

4;Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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WITCHCRAFT

A TRADITION still existing among the Delaware relates of the development of witchcraft among the Nanticoke[1] and its introduction among the former prior to the period of their westward migration. The Nanticoke are said to have possessed a very powerful medicine which certain of them decided to use for malevolent purposes. Thereafter they went among the Delaware causing sickness which in most cases proved fatal. The Delaware people declined in numbers, but although greatly alarmed, were unable to destroy the guilty ones. Finally one night a man saw two large owls in a tree. He shot them. Upon reaching the spot where they had fallen, the bodies of two strange men were found.[2] It was decided that these were responsible for the black magic. Later two women arrived, searching for their husbands. When told the story of the owls and their fate, the women declared these to have been their husbands who had transformed themselves in order to work evil. This, according to the Delaware, marked the introduction of witchcraft into the tribe.

The present-day Delaware consider witchcraft to be an evil practice and the lowest form of shamanistic activity. There are, however, occasions when such power may be, as my informant phrased it, "legitimately used." If necessary to preserve one's life, it's use is not considered evil. This power was of such great force and potency that only the greatest shaman could break the spell inflicted by a witch. It is believed that the last of the witches died many years ago, their evil medicine buried with them.

Those men and women known to be adept in black magic usually received their malevolent power in dreams. Certain of them, however, acquired it of witches who before death transferred their power to others. Such witches who carried on their evil practices at night were called "night travellers." As a rule they did not mingle with other

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[1] A statement by Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 126) runs "By the Nanticokes the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *mattapassigan* meaning poison." This is probably the term translated here as "medicine for gaining influence," or "witchcraft." See Speck, 1937a, p. 135-142.

[2] This incident is contrary to a current belief among the Delaware and Nanticoke that a transformed person, if wounded, does not die until he reaches his destination and resumes his natural form.

people during the day lest they betray their evil power in some way, and thereby be accused. Their chief activity seems to have been that of annoying people, especially the sick, and of seeking revenge upon their rivals and enemies through use of their powerful medicine. But little is known of the actual nature or content of such medicine since it was always handled with the greatest secrecy. It is said, however, that such magic potions were concealed in small clay vessels, from which a small portion was removed. This was placed in the miniature pouch containing the supernatural token, by which the witch effected his transformation at will. A feather, claw, tooth, hair, or other part of a bird or animal capable of exerting evil influence, formed the medium of transformation. The small skin bag, "witch pouch," was carried suspended from a cord passing over one shoulder and across the body. It is said that a witch was unclothed as he travelled through the air, all the necessary equipment being carried in the pouch.

The clay medicine vessel was left in his dwelling by the witch. When one of the latter was taken and killed, his bowl was always sought and buried with him. Only by such an action could his power be completely destroyed. It was believed that if a witch lit his pipe before setting out upon his nefarious pursuits, he must return before the tobacco had completely burned out. He dares not stay longer lest he be discovered. A witch killed by a person lacking supernatural power will not die until his return home; if slain by a shaman, however, he succumbs immediately and is transformed into his human form. In former days a chief was free to order a witch put to death. The victim was dispatched by a blow from a war club and buried, together with his evil medicine.

My informant differentiated between a witch and a conjurer, indicating that the latter used his power for both good and evil, whereas all the activities of the witch were for malefic purposes. He related the following incidents which involved witchcraft.

> My mother told of the time she was bewitched. When a young girl, an older man wished to marry her. He asked her parents, but my mother refused his proposal. This made him very angry. Soon she became ill and as the cause was not known, a sweat doctor was called. Upon being given some tobacco, he set out to learn the cause of the illness. After a few visits, the doctor said that she was bewitched. Her parents could recall no one who might be responsible except the rejected suitor. After some time, a small bone

•754 came from one of her fingers. It had been sent into her body by the witch. The sweat doctor had cured her.

The same witch wished to marry another girl. She was very young and considered the most beautiful girl on the reservation. As my mother had done, she refused the suitor, saying, "Why, I wouldn't marry that old man, and, besides, I'm too young to marry." When told of her answer, the old man said, "From this time on, if she ever sees her beauty again, it will be a surprise to me." So he set to work on her. In a few days she began to have trouble with her eyes. One night she awakened to see a human form standing over her. She felt peculiarly helpless and couldn't move. The strange person moved his hands across her eyes and disappeared. In a few days her eyes began to get sore and continued to grow worse until at last her sight was completely gone.

Later it was discovered that this blind woman had become a witch. She was married and had one daughter. The husband was of the Seneca tribe. Once she told her cousin, "I am getting old and there is something I wish to show you. Come to my house soon." The cousin became suspicious and delayed the visit as long as possible. Finally she went. The old woman showed her a trunk containing certain personal possessions, of which she was to take charge after her death. In removing them a snake skin was brought out and fell over the side of the trunk. While the visitor looked, the skin moved and as they talked, it wriggled back into the trunk. It seemed very unusual for the old blind woman to have such a snake skin. Finally she said to her visitor, "Now, I am going to die and I don't want this medicine to go out of the tribe. My daughter is old enough to take charge of it and I can't give it to my husband since he comes of a different tribe." The old woman died without anyone knowing what became of her medicine. Her cousin never admitted accepting it, but after her death it was found and buried with her. And that was the end of the witch medicine.

Those who were aware that a certain person was a witch rarely dared expose him lest they or some member of their family would become bewitched. This is clearly brought out in the following incident.

Once a Cherokee woman lived with the Delaware. She was very large and powerful, and was known as "Large-waist Cherokee Woman." Living with her was an adopted Delaware woman called "Day-light Person." Both women were old. Once the Cherokee took sick. Her friend believed that she went away at night, but never succeeded in confirming it. Finally the Cherokee informed her that she had been wounded. There was a bullet hole in her abdomen, in which she had stuffed grass to stop the flow of blood. The grass, however, had caused inflammation, so that she suffered greatly. At

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last she told her friend that she wished to confess. She said, "Now I am going to die and I want to tell you something. You must never reveal it or you will die also. I was out travelling (sic) one night and someone shot me." After her death, the other woman one day revealed the secret to some friends and soon after died.

One of the last of the Delaware witches is said to have joined the church, but continued to practice witchcraft. She believed that she could not find salvation because she had sold her soul to the Devil, but by joining the Church, thought she could secure some peace of mind. [747]

The unnatural behaviour of birds or animals, as observed in dreams or waking life, has led people to regard them as transformed witches. Once a man saw a hog which, as he looked at it, seemed to grow longer and longer. He started towards the animal, but it retreated into the bushes. Thereupon he knew that it was a transformed person. [825]

A second incident involved a young man returning home from a dance early in the morning. The path led through the woods and over a hill, at the foot of which stood a small cabin occupied by two old women. As he rode along, an owl flew quite low over his head towards the cabin where it disappeared. The young man told his people of the unusual flight of the owl and every one agreed that it was one of the old women returning home. Both had previously been suspected of witchcraft.

Another person had a similar experience with a boar. The man lived alone and one night, while lying on his bed, the door opened and in walked a large boar. The Indian, quite surprised by this, picked up a poker from the fireplace and attempted to drive out the animal. The boar ran around the table several times, without the man succeeding in striking it. Finally it escaped through the door. The man hurried outside and looked around, but the animal had disappeared entirely.

Many years ago a man about forty years old married a woman who was over seventy. My grandfather's brother lived with this couple. He was a powerful medicine man. After some years the old woman took sick and died. Her husband, a very vain, boastful individual, did not conceal his pleasure over her death. He was heard to say, "Now, I am the boss. See what I will do." My grandfather[9] soon after left the house. He walked away down the hill, frequently looking back at the house. After a while he returned. He had left to

[9] In the Delaware kinship terminology one's grandfather's brothers are called by the same term as the grandfather. [601]

784 prepare a magical snare by which to entrap the boastful widower. He set the snare at the doorstep of the house and went in and sat down. However, a visitor was heard approaching, and my grandfather quickly removed the snare so that an innocent person would not be harmed. Afterwards the invisible snare was reset and the intended victim stepped over it. Immediately after he suffered a congestive chill and by night, he was dead. His wife's corpse was still unburied and the day after her funeral, her husband's body was laid away. My grandfather did this to show that supernatural forces did exist to punish inhuman boasting. His people regarded this as an act of conjuring rather than witchcraft.

Persons who possessed the power of bewitchment were obliged to take at least the life of one human every year. During their annual meeting, if any witches had failed to do so, they deliberated upon the choice of a victim at that time. The belief was held by the Delaware that failure to do so would result in misfortune for the witch or his family through sudden illness or accident. Before a witch died, he must transfer his medicine to another to prevent the uncontrolled evil power from reacting upon a member of his family.

DREAMS

787 ALL DREAMS are regarded as significant by the Delaware. Some indicate good fortune and long life, while others fortell sickness and death. One type of dream of unusual significance is known by a term translated as "to dream ahead." Thus to dream of berries, fruit, or vegetation during the winter season is a sign that the dreamer will live to see the fruits of many seasons. To dream of snow at any time of the year is an indication of long life.

It is believed that the recurrence of the same dream for several nights is a sign of important news or even impending danger. In one such case, mentioned by Wi'tapanóxwe, his deceased parents appeared to him on six consecutive nights to warn him of an event which occurred a number of years later.

Long ago dreams were particularly significant to the Delaware hunter. Always in search of game animals for food, he was often led by the animal supernaturals in dreams to the secret places of the game. Upon awakening the hunter would offer a prayer and sacrifice a pinch of tobacco in his camp fire. Then he would follow the trail indicated to him in the dream.

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Spock, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on the fires smothered them and caused a great smoke. In order that the smoke might fill every corner of the temple, each man waved his blanket over the fire; this was done with the idea of purifying the temple and driving out the evil spirits. After the smoke had subsided, the master of ceremonies, an old chief, rose and began to rattle a turtle shell he had in his hand. He delivered a speech to the people telling them the object of the meeting was to thank the great spirit for the growth and ripening of the corn. When he finished his speech he began to dance, sing and rattle the shell, the two singers joining in, beating on their skins. When he took his seat he handed the shell to the next person, who performed in the same way, thus it went from one to the other all night. The purport of their speeches was to recount the mercies of the Great Spirit to them during the past year, and telling any remarkable dreams that they had had. In the course of the night a number of them went out the west door, making a wailing noise to the moon, and came in again the east door. In the morning the meat and soup were divided amongst the people.

"These feasts often lasted twelve days and twelve nights, and the Indians call it nee-shaw-neechk-togho-quanoo-maun, or ween-da-much-teen. No drinking or improper conduct is allowed. The utmost solemnity prevails."

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NANTICOKE RITES

Texts Relating to the Nanticoke

N D

It is not surprising that through early association with the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi·tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

101 171 N

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

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Nanticoke Origin of Witchcraft and Poison

N D 754

An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1-77.

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Delawares in respect to the arts of black magic that would not be easy to establish for any one tribe in a culture area where similarity is so general throughout. It appears, however, from a scrutiny of data pertaining to the Nanticoke of colonial times that this tribe possessed a reputation for its knowledge of malefic sorcery. And aside from the earlier sources the tradition had survived with force among the Delawares of Zeisberger's time, as we shall see in the ensuing quotations, while it has not by any means died out among the Delawares today, as our texts show. Harrington also has notes on the same belief from the Oklahoma Delawares.[1]

And again, some Seneca assert that witchcraft was introduced among them by an Algonquin tribe which they had adopted. ". . . The *I"dos* company, one of the medicine societies, is said to be the survival of the older witch society introduced among the Seneca by the Nanticoke."[2]

"By the Nantikoks the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Muttapassigan*,[4] meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick[5] along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation

[1] M. R. Harrington, information, 1926, also "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," 1921, p. 124.

[2] A. C. Parker, "Code of Handsome Lake." Bull. 163, N. Y. State Museum, Albany, 1913, pp. 27, 29.

[4] This venerable term is still in use among the Delawares of Oklahoma, who pronounce it *mat apas i'kan*, "evil medicine." They are, moreover, cognizant of all that is baneful in association with the idea.

[5] Evidently intended for *wadjo'wik*, "among the mountains."

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by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson (*pi·'sun*, medicine) but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

"It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered." [1]

D 754 ●

NƆ'TCI·'HWE°YƆ'K·AN, *Origin of Witchcraft*

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Lə'mwe wi·əxka'utci wa'ni· lən·a°'pe wi·əxka'-
Long time ago all at once these Lenápe suddenly

undaola'o yu'li·ł une't'ko"'wi· lə'n·owak. gąci·las·i·'tci·k
discovered [of] these Nanticoke people. Great wise men
a secret

maxkama'o ne°li·'l awenhake°'yo təli·' e't'ma
discovered of those uncivilised that were

xe°lunalu'k·un.
killing them in numbers.

kwu't·i· xkwe° ahi·pa°'lsu' e'nxan lə'kwi·k·
One woman taken very sick every evening

əndama'łsu. ge'hel·α me°tci·'gni [2] ką°ce'ləndamowa°'-
and got worse. Indeed now it was very greatly astonishing

[1] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–8.

[2] Used to denote the "feeling of weakness, yet with the ability to try to do the thing desired." It is always used by chiefs in addressing their people, *Me°'tcku*—"try hard." The expression denotes deep humility of the speaker, yet a sincere devotion to the cause, and solicitude for its accomplishment. *ada"hí·*

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754 k·anu enxu'nalund lən·a'pe. ki·ci·'ma·n ni·'ca
539 phenom- the many lives which Indians. They engaged two
N enon they had taken
754 gącil·əs·i·''tci·k l·ə'n·owak tə'l·i ke·na'gi·'to·n we·'mi·
wise men men so that to guard all

ɔka'i· e·'pi·t na· pa'lsi·t. t·ət·a''se·gi· təbu'kwi·k
around the place where lay that sick person. Sometime in the night

wi·axka'utci na· pən·da'wan də'l·i kuk·andji·'mwi·n
suddenly then they heard so like hooting

k·o'k·o·s.[1] mąt·anak'ge' na'lapi·pi·t·'li· k·o'k·o·s
owl. In a little while then again another owl

naxk·u't·am. nayu'' xkwi·'tanaxkwe' dwe'tci· na'u-
answered. Right there top of the tree they came and

həlane·'yo el·i·' nayu'ni· tə'l·i kəl·i·'p·ama·n yu'li·ł
alighted as right here that fixed their gaze this

pa·lsi·'li·t·tci. ne'k·ex nane'' pe·xu'tci· tə'n·dagą'ci·p'-
the sick person. These there near by there

ha·'ne·'yo' ne·k' gąci·l·əs·i·'tci·k lə'n·owak. ni·ka'ni·
hiding those wise powerful men. Beforehand

gi·ci·'xto·ne·yo təl·i·' li·tc'ni·'la·n na'kɔ'wi· awe·'n
they had fixed it so that they kill any person

ci·'t·a'kɔ t·'u'na·n nani·'awe·n ne''hel·a·t'
or else capture that person [or thing] the one who killed

lən·ape'ɔx. na'xpən·a'nen yu'ki·k' k'ok''os·ak
the people [Delawares]. And then these owls

nayu'li· nax'ko'laɔn. ɔ'n·dɑ pəni·'hi·la'di·t kek·ula''
they these were shot off where they sat. And when they fell discovered

yuk pi·li·awe·'ni·k ni·'cn' awe·'nhako·'yɔk'. ɔk
these something else two persons uncivilized (savages). And

su·'su·psuwak a'cowi·lung'hu·'sowak' xo·'s·a'[2]
naked They wore across the breast skin

nundeka'k·wun, "I am unable to do the thing even to express myself as my forefathers did, but I'll do the best I can," is another formal expression of humility with devotion used by the trained speaker. To use these phrases is an accomplishment of the experienced Delaware orator.

[1] Great horned owl.

[2] Refers to a piece of undressed skin with hair on.

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ɔk pə'n·da'ə·ən·a'''k·an nə't·ət' nalən·e' tci·p'i·e·'le·k' ●
and pouch small that besides bad destructive

pi·''su·n ne'notci·we·'i·t·uŋg talən·a'ə·u. ə'n·da
medicine the witchcraft was carried in. When

ɔ·'p'aŋg we·'mi· awe·'n we·homa'o mae'hel·a·n
next morning everybody was notified they gathered

pən·a'ɔn ne·'ki·k' ne'həl·ə'n·dji·k' lə'n·owak.
and examined those killed men [the two owl-men].

akuawe·'n maxgao'wi· we·ɔ'ha·t'. na'xpən·e nan·e'n
Nobody was found that knew them. And then those very

e·kao'k·we ta'l·i· p'sən·d'hak·e''hən. ni·ci·'-
under the trees there were covered up in the ground [buried]. Two

k·e·t·i'ŋ·ge wi·əxka'utci na' pe'tci ki·i·'ke·yak' ni·'ca
years afterward suddenly that came visiting two

xkwe·'yak. we·'mi·yu'tali· kwi·''la''ta' oxəm·e'yɔk
women. All everywhere inquired in vain

wi·t·aye'matai·tci·. napən·ahən·e'n la'p·imaehel·a·'n
their husbands. Again gathered together

ɔk wendji·''ma·n ne·'ki·k xkwe·'yɔk. we·'hom·aɔ'k
and with sent for those women. They informed them

lo·''we·n tce·la''' ne' ekaɔ'k·we pɔ'k·hak·ehən ni·'ca'
it was said right over there those trees under are buried two

awe·'ni·k no't'huk·''kɔ·n·a'n·ak ni'ci· gaxtə'n' petci-
people they came among us two years ago brought

na'x'poxwe'yɔk tci'p·i·e·'l·e·k' ke'ko. ce·'la han·e·k'
with them bad thing. There are [pointing out, motion]

ku't·act'xi·ŋ<'ge de'n·xu·na'luk·unanɔk'. lowe·'·yɔk'ne·k
sixty [persons] of us they have killed that many of us. They said

ne·'ki·k' xkwe·'yɔk to'l·i ne'k'·'ton·pi·ə·gɔk·e' lo·''we·
these women that one night they said

e·li·' lə'n·owak ma't·a' wa'kwu'ə·i·i· tə't·a e·ya''t·i·.
both men no one know where they went.

ə'n·da' wei't·a'kɔn·utama'und' lowe·'yɔk nalən·e·'-
When they explained it to them they said they were the

ki·''k. ə'nda'lə'n·d' yu'kwe' ki·''lo·''wa' one't'ko·''wak'
same ones. When they told these you Nanticokes

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xu·ʰha kowaˑʰtoneˑyoˑ neˑnˑiˑ tciˑpˑiˑeˑʰlˑeˑkˑ piˑʰsun.
alone you know. that bad medicine.

loweˑʰyɔk neˑkˑ akuˑtaˑ neˑnˑi liˑˑmˑkˑɔtˑuˑʰʷiˑ təˑlˑi
They said that is not what it was intended for that

aweˑʰn ˈniˑˈlaˑweˑtun. cuk yuˑniˑ liˑˑʰmkɔtˑ liˑ
anybody kill [take life]. But this it is intended to be

nakaˑʰlkɔt əˑndaˑ kokˑʷsaˑpˑiŋ liˑ nakaˑʰlkɔtˑ
used for to searching out, seeking to learn [to test out circumstances]. So it is to be used.

əˑndaˑ kaˑtawaˑʰtaoŋg keˑkɔ eˑlaehɔˑsˑiˑtˑ
When we want to know something how they conduct themselves

aweˑʰn ciˑtˑakˑɔˑ təˑtˑaˑ peˑmaiˑˈˈkeˑtˑ. əˑndaˑ
anyone, or where they may be camped. When

aˑʰlamweˑyɔˑkˑanˑiˑkˑ ndaˑ maxtaˑʰgeŋgˑ doˑˈpaliˑˑ
in time of fear in war-time scouting

ləˑnˑowɑk aloke·ʰmanˑ təˑli weˑʰmiˑ liˑ ɔkaˑe
men they send out to all for around

keˑʰnaˑgiˑtoneˑyɔx təˑli aˑ maˑtˑa wiˑxkołkoˑwɑn
they guard that to not surprise them

aweˑʰniˑkˑ maˑtˑa weˑliamˑgoˑmˑkweŋg.
any persons not on friendly terms with us.

naxpaˑənˑeˑn kuˑtˑiˑ keˑʰpteaˑt skiˑˑʰnoˑ
Afterwards one foolish (in selfish sense) young man

əˑndaˑ kiˑiˑˑkˑeˑtˑ oneˑʰtˑko wiˑˑkeˑiˑ unakˑhiˑkˑayiˑn
when visiting Nanticoke visited he borrowed

neˑnˑiˑ neˑhnoˑˈtciˑweˑiˑˑtuŋg npiˑʰsun. yuˑkwe peˑtci
that witchcraft medicine. To this [day] coming

akoˑʰ haˑcˑi kwuˑtˑˈgoxɔxˑtoˑwɑn. nekeˑx keˑkˑʷ
not ever brought it back. So there was wampum

nhakaˑʰlkwɔtˑ əˑndaˑ giˑˑkaiˑˑhɑndˑ.
used when borrowing.

eˑʰliˑ yuˑniˑliˑwaˑxkut ɔndaˑweˑʰn maˑtˑa
So this is a known fact when anyone not

mayaˑoˑʰpeˑiˑˑtut [10] neˑˑkˑɑte xˑʷtɔnˑapeˑʰma ciˑtakˑɔˑ
observe the strict rules he himself his family or

[10] Meaning that the wampum should be given as a binding obligation when something has been received, as in the case of the medicine. The wampum makes

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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e°'laŋgoma'tci ci·ka°'kok' ka'ŋgami· ke'ko.
his relatives an affliction mysterious thing.

nan·eki·'ckwi·'k' wu'n·dji' al·emi·'xan
That very day from was beginning

aha°nhu'k·wi· pi·'li· awe°nhak·e°'yak'
it was [introduced] handed from one to another other uncivilized peoples

wa°'tola°n we°'mi elɔma'kami·'k e°lai·'k·e°t' wa'ni
to instruct them all over the earth where dwell these

me°xke°'yaxgɔ's·i·t' yu' manate°'yuŋg. ce°la'·
red flesh men [red men] this continent on. That is

hɔn·en tɔli·' wa°'to"n wa'ni· lɔn·a'p·e
the way how understand the Delaware [the beginning of witchcraft].

Free Translation.

A long time ago all at once the Delawares suddenly discovered a secret of the Nanticoke people. The men of power discovered of those who were barbarous that they were killing them in numbers. One woman was taken very ill; every evening she became worse. Indeed it was most astonishing how many lives were taken among the people. They engaged two men of power to guard the dwelling all around where the sick person was. Some time in the night there they heard the hooting of an owl. Shortly after then another owl answered. Right there in a tree-top they came and alighted as they fixed their gaze straight upon the sick person. There close by were hiding those men of power. Beforehand they had arranged it so that they could kill anyone or else capture the creature who had killed the people. And then these owls were shot down where they sat, and when they fell it was discovered that these were transformations of two barbarians. And they were naked. They wore across the breast a skin and a small pouch in which evil medicine was carried for purposes of witchcraft. When everyone was notified next morning, they assembled and examined those dead men. No one was found who knew them. And then those same ones

the exchange innocuous. If he failed to carry out the rules it would bring the sickness back to him converting the medicine from a curative agent to a poison. For further discussion see chapter on Wampum, p. 63, "Big House Ceremony."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

D M 764

NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+		776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		793
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+		794
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+[1]				+	+	+	+	+	• +		757
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		756
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	−	+	+	−		755
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	−	−		343
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	W&	−		
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	Up		
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up	Up	Up		
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	S		
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+		
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		−		
Consumption					+				+	+	+		
Pleurisy						+			−	−			
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+		
Dysentery				+					+				
Rheumatism				+	+				• +	−	−		
Boils				+									
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
45. Cupping common				+							−		
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+		
48. Receive any education					−						−		
49. Called by divine agency in youth											+		
50. Count pulse											−		
51. Inquire into nature of complaint											+		

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

774 beep left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.
775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

● 754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove! [825]

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally ɔkteskaʔtan, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi·tapano·xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta·nɔtuw, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaha·n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe·mi·kwu·n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi··ta·lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi'tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death.

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'kkoe in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pe·y·'lake "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common, many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
855 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annu calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 129.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

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23 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28 Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30 Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.

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crippling revenge.[44] Even animals. (for example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

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In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful,"[47] and both Zeisberger and Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

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Techniques for Expressing Aggression

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All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

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44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-92.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-16.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 91.
50 Ibid.